
SKYE GAELIC

BY

REV. CHAS. M. ROBERTSON

Yorridon

Achnasheen

5th Oct. 1901

Dear Sir,

I have been from home since your letter came and could not until now send the enclosure. I should be very glad to get copies of your articles on Witch Trials as all such things interest me.

Your account of your work on our placenames is very interesting. I have for some time had the wish to attempt something of the same kind and have been doing work of a contributory nature. My plan has been to transcribe and index alphabetically by counties, the names from the fullest maps accessible. Of course the standard maps are those of the Ordnance Survey on the scale of six

inches to a mile but it is not easy
to get the use of these without purchase
and purchase would come to be expensive.
I have used chiefly the one inch O.S.
maps for the Highland counties and
Bartholomew's excellent $\frac{1}{2}$ inch maps for
the other counties. I make no attempt
to record all the variations of spelling
only the oldest and any others that may
be of special significance, but I attach
special importance to the local Gaelic
pronunciation where such is available
and also give attention to the local
dialect where Gaelic is spoken, as aids
in determining the etymology.

Even the local English pronunciation
is often important and helpful.

Macdonald's book of place
names is the only really good
as you say. Some more of his work
came out recently in I think the Proceedings

of the Society of Antiquaries. Dr Macbain
has had numerous admirable articles
in various Highland newspapers. He
has in that way dealt with the
neighbourhood of Inverness, and
of Beaully, with Lochalsh, Skye,
Inverness-shire and Sutherlandshire.
In the two last cases only a selection of
the county names was dealt with.
Important reviews of Sir Herbert Maxwell's
Scottish Land Names and of Captain
Ellis's Place names of Glengarry (Inverness)
have come from his hand. Possibly
you have seen his paper on the "Horse
Element in the Topography of the Highlands
and Islands (Trans. of Gael. Soc. of Inverness, XIX)

Your account of the difficulties
put by government in the way of
obtaining books from the old country
does not excite the United States.
If the industries of the United States

needed to be coddled and nursed and
guarded against free competition
where is their boasted superiority? Only
last night I read that tests made on the
Egyptian railways between British
engines and engines made in the United
States had so far as completed shown
a decided superiority on the side of the
British engines.

"Skye Gaelic" is from the forth-
coming volume of the Trans. of the Inverness
Soc. A paper on the Gaelic of the West of
Ross-shire was read last winter, and
may appear shortly in a newspaper, and
later in pamphlet form.

With kind regards

I remain

Yours very truly

Charles M. Robertson

SKYE GAELIC.

BY REV. CHAS. M. ROBERTSON.

The mark (ē) on a vowel indicates nasalisation.

A hyphen (-) separates one syllable from another.

Scottish Gaelic is usually divided into two dialects, a Northern and a Southern. The tests by which the two dialects are separated are usually the diphthongisation of certain vowels, the sound given to *ao*, to post-vocalic *e*, *t*, *p*, and to unaspirated slender *n*, and the vocalisation of certain aspirated consonants. Some of those tests as a matter of fact do not distinguish North from South. It cannot be maintained that the tendency to vocalisation is greater in the North than in the South. *Mh* may possibly be sounded, not as *v* but as a vowel more frequently in the North, but it is so vocalised so far south as Arran in not a few instances not only in medial and final positions as in the North, but also in proper names in initial position, a thing quite unknown apparently in the North. Vocalisation, or rather suppression of the aspirated gutturals, may be found in the North in isolated cases, such as *drochaid*, *foghar*, in Strathglass pronounced *dro-id*, *fāo-ar*, but over against that has to be set the wholesale suppression of slender *ch* in Arran, Islay, etc.

The de-aspiration or unaspiration of slender *n* which has been put forward as a feature of Northern Gaelic is found in isolated instances in the North, but it is far more characteristic of the Gaelic of the Southern seaboard and adjoining isles. In Arran, for example, *duine*, *teine*, *min*, *muin*, are pronounced as *duinne*, *teinne*, *minn*, *muinn*, and the same pronunciation which is the

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rule in Arran prevails extensively, if it is not the rule, in the Southern Isles generally.

While these two tests do show broad distinctions of dialect, though they have not always been rightly applied, the attempt to distinguish Northern and Southern Gaelic by the pronunciation of post-vocalic *c* only leads to confusion. In the counties of Inverness and Ross *c* in such words as *fiacaill*, *mac*, *torc*, *glic*, is sounded *chc*, that is, the same as Gaelic *chd*, while in Argyllshire *c* retains its simple sound. But here extremes meet. The far North follows the far South. The sound is *c*, not *chc*, in Sutherlandshire as in Argyllshire. West Perthshire, on the other hand, follows Inverness and Ross, and thus isolates East Perthshire, which follows the Argyllshire pronunciation.

The sound given to *ao*, coming from old *ái*, *ói*, is that of French *û* in Lewis, Skye, Sutherlandshire, Ross-shire, Inverness-shire, and Perthshire. Further south the sound is different.

The test of diphthongisation also brings out a broad distinction. The vowels so affected are *a*, *o*, *ea*, and *eo* in certain positions, *è* written *eu*, *èa* and *èi*, and *ì* written *io* in certain cases. The diphthongisation of *a*, *o*, *ea*, and *eo* is a feature of Northern Gaelic, but it extends southwards almost to the middle of Argyllshire. In this as in most of the tests, East Perthshire follows the South, though separated from it by West Perthshire, which as usual follows the North. The diphthongisation of the other vowels mentioned also broadly distinguishes Northern Gaelic, while in the South they are not, except in a very few instances, diphthongised.

If eclipsis, which occurs only in isolated instances in the South, be assumed as a test, Northern Gaelic may be divided into two sub-dialects, that in which eclipsis is largely present being separated from the rest of the Northern division.

The Gaelic spoken in Skye, while, as might be expected from its position, it exhibits in general the characteristics of Northern Gaelic, is, in an island of such extent, by no means homogeneous. The configuration of the "Winged Isle" lends itself to the production and perpetuation of diversities of speech. If the speech of Sleat can be distinguished from that of Strath, how much greater must be the difference between either of those and the Gaelic spoken in Trotternish or in the Macleod country. And as the Gaelic of Strath and of Sleat can be distinguished, so can that of the Macleod country be distinguished from that of the Macdonald country, as Trotternish is sometimes called. The

latter country is recognised, for instance, by its pronunciations, cairt, cuairt, doirt, feairt, which in the Macleod country are pronounced cairst, cuairst, doirst, feairst. In Trotternish, again, such words as cnaimhean (bones), làmhan (hands), amhach, abhainn, reamhar, sleamhuinn, are pronounced crā-an, lā-an, ā-ach, a-inn, reā-ar, sleā-inn, while in the Macleod country they are pronounced crāwan, lāwan, āwach, awinn, reāwar, sleāwinn, *i.e.*, in the latter *mh* and *bh* are vocalised, in the former they have in those instances disappeared, leaving no trace except the nasalisation of the preceding vowel. In the case of the three last of those words, the border line between the two pronunciations is said to be Tayinlone, on the Portree and Dunvegan road. The following pages are based on notes taken in the neighbourhood of Edinbane, on the Macleod side of the border, some twelve to fourteen miles from Portree. Mary Macpherson's rich vocabulary and faithfulness to her native dialect revealed in her published compositions, and also some unpublished local compositions, have been drawn upon.

DIPHTHONGISATION.

a, o, ea, oe.

It may be convenient to bring together what requires to be said of the diphthongisation of various vowels. *A, o, ea, eo* are diphthongised when they stand in accented syllables before a long liquid not followed except by a kindred consonant, *i.e.*, *m* may stand before *p* or *b*, and the other liquids may stand before *t* or *d*. The process is not, however, carried to the limit in Skye, *r* being excepted, as it is also in certain other districts.

call pronounced	cawll	moll pronounced	mowll
dall	„ dawll	poll	„ powll
mall	„ mawll	toll	„ towll
nall	„ nawll	bonn	„ bownn
ann	„ awnn	conn	„ cownn
bann	„ bawnn	donn	„ downn
clann	„ clawnn	fonn	„ fownn
gann	„ gawnn	tonn	„ townn
am	„ awm	com	„ cownm
cam	„ cawm	lom	„ lowm

The sound meant by *w* is that which it has in English "howl," "town." In the case of *ea*, in contact with a nasal liquid, the resulting diphthong as shown below—meall, beann, etc., consists

of Gaelic nasal *e* and *u*. A long liquid is one sounded as in ball, sanntaich, corr, cam, not as in ballan, baunag, corran, caman.

geall	pronounced	gyawll	beann	pronounced	beunn
meall	„	meull	ceann	„	ceunn
seall	„	syawll	greann	„	greunn
steall	„	styawll	teann	„	teunn
allt		pronounced	awllt		
Anndra (Andrew)		„	Awnndra		„
drannan		„	diawnnan		
sannt		„	sawnt		
deanntag (nettle)		„	dyawnnag		
gràpa (a graip), so		„	grawmpa (Trotternish)		
Macleod country					
puncail or pongail		„	powngcail		
adhlaic (burial)		„	âwlaca		

This last word in Old Irish adnacul, adnocul, does not by its form, though by its pronunciation it does, come under the rule. The explanation seems to be that the Old Irish adnacul has by metathesis, etc., now become phonetically annlac, or as in Skye annlacadh. The Manx form is anlaky, and the Skye form diphthongisation and all is found in other parts of Scotland. In Perthshire the accented vowel is nasalised and long—âlac—doubtless by compensatory lengthening due to assimilation of *nn* to *l*.

Some confusion exists concerning the vowels *a* and *o* that are diphthongised. It is not, as has been frequently asserted, the long sounds *â*, *ò*, and *ó* that are so treated. The vowels are indeed marked long in the Gaelic dictionaries in a number of the words in which diphthongisation takes place, but that is an error caused by failure to distinguish between a long vowel and a long liquid. The vowels are not marked long in the old language. Mr Macbain in his Dictionary gives *árd* as the Early Irish form of *ard* high, in which, in certain districts, diphthongisation is found, but that is probably due to his copying a misprint of Windisch's, whose examples show the correct form *ard*.

While the vowels were thus in all cases originally short, it has to be observed that when not diphthongised in positions that come under the rule, they have very generally become long in modern pronunciation before *rr* and *rd*, and sometimes before *rn*. Barr, ard, corr, ord, cearr, are pronounced bàrr, àrd, còrr, òrd, ceàrr; carn may sometimes be heard as càrn and eorna frequently as eòrna.

The same phenomena are found in the south-west of Ireland, *i.e.*, in Munster. There the vowels in question are lengthened before *r*, *e.g.*, in *fearr*, *gearr*, *gort* (a field), and are diphthongised in the other positions, as *ball*, “*bawll*”; *ann*, “*awnn*”; *cam*, “*cawm*”; *coll*, “*cowll*”; *bonn*, “*bownn*”; *trom*, “*trowm*.” It seems curious that diphthongisation should have sprung up in those parts of Ireland and Scotland, that are furthest removed from one another, while it is not found in the extensive intervening districts.

Similar diphthongisation in Manx is discussed by Professor Rhys *Manx Prayer Book II*, pp. 142 144. “Thus,” he says, “‘*tromm*,’ now written ‘*trome*,’ is pronounced in a way which sometimes strikes one as being ‘*troum*,’ and sometimes ‘*trobm*’ or ‘*trubm*,’ with a sort of precarious *b*; and similarly with other words such as ‘*kione*,’ head, which becomes ‘*kioun*’ or ‘*kiodn*,’ and ‘*lhong*,’ a ship, which becomes ‘*logng*’ or ‘*lugng*.’” With regard to the occurrence of diphthongisation, he says—“In all the cases mentioned the vowel was short, and the nasal consonant” (it appears not to take place in Maux with *l* and *r*) “as in ‘*tromm*’ was long, so to say, so that metrically *um* or *bm* is an equivalent for *mm*.” The process, he adds, has been extended “probably later” to words in which the nasal consonant was short, but preceded by a long vowel, and here the reinforcement of the consonantal element took place, metrically speaking, at the expense of the vowel.

In the Breton language *trom* (heavy) is written “*troum*,” and *toll* (hole) “*toull*,” and in Old Cornish *camm* (crooked) and *gwyn* white (=Gaelic “*fionn*”) became respectively “*cabm*” and “*gwydn*.”

eu, èa.

The diphthongisation in certain words of long *e*, written *eu*, *èa*, and *èi*, is a distinctive feature of Northern Gaelic. As in the case of post-vocalic *c*, however, so here also Sutherlandshire rather breaks away from the Northern dialect. The feature is found in the extreme South, and becomes prominent in the North solely because it has there extended to a larger number of words. In Sutherlandshire it is scarcely, if indeed at all, more frequent than in Argyllshire, only the northern county has in certain cases a peculiarity of its own which is not diphthongisation, in the treatment of the vowel. Perhaps in no one district are all the words affected which are liable to the change and are subjected to it in some district or other. In Skye *beuc*, *geug*, *geur*, *reult* (star), *sleuchd*, *meud*, which are liable to diphthongisation, are pro-

nounced with *é* (nasalised in the case of *meud*), to which add *sgreubh* (to shrivel, of vessels of wood).

The vowel (*eu*) is pronounced *ia* in *reub*, *geuban* (pronounced *ciaban*), *feuch* (try), *deuchainn*, *dreuchd*, *breug*, *leud*, *seud* (hero), *sgaul*, *feur*, *feusag*, *feusgan*, *greusaich*, *leus* (light), and in *brèagh*, *lèabag*, *tèaruinnte*, *èasgaidh* (Mary MacPherson, p. 157). So *iadach* also, but not *eud*, from which it comes, nor *eudmhor*.

It is *iā* in *eun*, *seun*, *sgeun* (panic), *neul*, *smeur* (bramble), and in *dèan*, *lèan* (M. MacP., 23), and also in *riāmlach*, a root, from *freumh* with the suffix *ach*. *Beul*, too, is *biāl*. In *eun* the pronunciation strikes one as being in reality dissyllabic *i-ān*.

In *feuch* (show), *deug*, *ceud*, *ceutach*, *reusladh* (battering), the diphthong is composed of *i* and short *ao*. On her return to Skye, Mary MacPherson sings—

“S cha bheag a’ mhiorbhuil gu ’n thill mi ’m chiall ann
 ’S na fhuair mi riasladh o làmh luchd foirneirt.”

Reudan is here pronounced *raodan*.

Yet another pronunciation which is more common in *Tiree* and *Coll* is found in one instance in *Skye*. In *beurla è* (*eu*) is sounded as a diphthong, consisting of close *e* and Gaelic *u*.

Where *eu* is not liable to diphthongisation it is in *Skye* sounded *é*, and nasalised if in contact with a nasal, as *beud*, *deud*, *eud*, *teud*, *treud*, *eug*, *eubh* (cry), *creuchd*, *beus*, *ceus*, *gleus*, *creutair*, *speur*, *breun*, *treun*, *beum*, *ceum*, *feum*, *geum*, *leum*. In *treubh* also the vowel is nasal, as in some other districts. In *teum* the vowel is *ao*.

The predominance of the close sound *é*, not only in *Skye* but generally, wherever the *e* sound is retained, is noteworthy. In *Argyllshire*, where diphthongisation is rare, *eu* is almost universally sounded as *é*. In *Perthshire* the close sound (*é*) is confined to those words that are not liable to diphthongisation, while in those that are so liable the vowel has its open sound (*è*). To put it in another form, when *eu* is pronounced *é* in *Perthshire* it is *è* in *Northern Gaelic*, and when it is pronounced *è* in *Perthshire*, it becomes *ia* in the *North*. Only three doubtful exceptions to this rule are to be found. *Reul*, in *Perthshire* *réul*, retains *é* in the *North* generally, but is *rialt* in *Sutherland*, that land of Gaelic exceptions. *Geuban*, which has *é* in *Perthshire*, and *ia* in the *North*, is held to be a borrowed word, cf. *Scot gebbie*, *gabbie*, with the same meaning. The *Skye* form is *ciaban*. The third doubtful exception is *iadach*,

which does not seem to be used in Perthshire, and is therefore entitled to mention only, as it contrasts with eud, pronounced éud in that county. In the Island of Arran also the pronunciation of *eu* in the great majority of cases agrees with the rule found in Perthshire.

There is then one group of cases in which *eu* is pronounced *é* always and everywhere, and another group in which the pronunciation is variously in different districts *é*, *è*, or *ia*. As regards the latter group, it is possible that *é* may have been the oldest sound, and that *è* is a stage in the development of *é* into *ia*. The sound of *è* is certainly nearer than that of *é* to the *a* of *ia*. If *è* be the older sound, its change to *é* must be attributed to the influence of analogy. On the whole, the more satisfactory supposition is that *é* is older than *è*, and that the latter is a stage in the progress towards *ia*. In any case, the etymological difference, if there is any, at the basis of the distinction between the two groups—the one liable and the other not liable to diphthongisation—does not yet appear to have been discovered.

This vowel (*eu*) is diphthongised also in Munster with *ia* as the result as in *meur*, *feur*, *deunadh* (doing), and even in words and positions in which it is never diphthongised in Scottish Gaelic, as in *breun*, *treun*, *eug*, and in *eudòchas* (despair), *eudtrom* (light), *eugcoir* (wrong). In the three last examples the diphthong being unaccented is pronounced more rapidly. Even *ea* in *muineal* (neck) is pronounced *ia*.

io, iu.

The diphthongisation in certain cases of *ì*, written *io*, though it has received less attention, is also a feature of Northern Gaelic. In Skye the diphthong is *i* and short *ao* in *ioc*, *crioch*, *griosach*, *diol*, *fior*, and others, and with nasalisation in a group of words showing nasals in contact, *criòn*, *dion*, *fion*, *lion*, *sion*, *spìon*, *diomhain*, *iomhaigh*, *gnìomh*, *sniomh*, *mios*.

A more uncommon feature, not, however, confined to Skye, is the diphthongisation of initial *io* followed by a liquid. In some instances the diphthong is made up of Gaelic *i* and *ù*, as in *iodhlann*, *iomradh* (report), *iomlaid*, *iongnadh*, but more often it is Gaelic *u* instead of *ù*, as in *iolach*, *iolaire*, *iomadh*, *iomain*, *iomair* (ridge), *iomchaidh*, *iompaidh*, *iomarcach*, *ionndrainn*, *ionnsaich*, *ionnsaidh*, *ionraic*. The three last are pronounced *iùsaich*, *iùsai*, *iùraic*. *Ioched* (clemency) also has the diphthong *iu*.

The treatment of *iu* in initial position is exactly similar; *i* and *u* both receive their Gaelic sound nasalised or not according as the contact is nasal or not, as *iuchair* (key), *iuchar* (dogdays), *iutharn*, *iùl* pronounced *iùil*, *iunntas*. In *iullagach* *iù* is found. *Iùmais*, sometimes written *aonais*, is pronounced *ûmais*, which agrees with the second spelling, as it would be pronounced in Skye.

The semi-vowel *y*, heard in some dialects in such words as *iolair* (eagle), pronounced *yolaire*, and specially in the *iu* words, *yuchair*, &c., is here conspicuous by its absence, its place being taken by the Gaelic *i*, while the broad vowel heard, following initial *i* or *y* in some dialects in one or two words with initial *io* followed by a liquid, is in Skye extended practically to all such words, only that it varies there between *u* and *û*.

a.

Uncertainty as to the use of *a* or *o* in a number of words in written Gaelic is a familiar feature, caused by hesitation between the Irish written form on the one side, and the Scottish pronunciation on the other. Broadly stated, an original *o* remains *o* in Irish literature, but becomes *a* in Gaelic speech and uninfluenced literature as *bolg* or *balg*, *folach* or *falach*. But even in Ireland in some parts they say *a* sometimes where they write *o*. Within Scottish Gaelic itself, great irregularity exists. In Skye, *dronmag* (back), *folach*, *folbh*, *proun*, *iosg* are pronounced with *a*, while *brod*, *foruin* (noise), *smot*, with the borrowed word *dorghach* (to fish with hand line), retain *o*. *Dorus* is pronounced both ways, *dorus* and *darus*, and *famhair*, from *Fomori*, is here pronounced *fû-aire*; cf. Macleod and Dewar's *fuanhair*. Even where the vowel is long, the change may be found. *Dàth* and *fód*, which have *ó* in the early language, have in Skye *à*, while *dòcha* retains *ò*, though in the north generally it has taken *à* (*dàcha*).

The reverse process has also not infrequently taken place; *a* has become *o*. There appear, however, to be but few instances of this in Skye, except in borrowed words, e.g., *sabhal*, pronounced so-al (close *o*). *Gabh* and *mallachd*, which take *o* in many districts, here retain *a*. Skye again, in its form *pòg* (from *pacem*), departs from northern Gaelic, which has *pàg*, while the Sutherlandshire *amhran* (song), found also as far south as Strathglass, is in Skye *òran*, *ò* not being even nasalised. The Skye and Wester Ross *sgòth*, a cloud (on the sun), appears to be none other than *sgàth*, a shadow; Welsh, *ysgod*; Cornish, *seod*.

In the case of an old *a* before a slender liquid, there are a number of instances in which the vowel is sounded close *o* short. Though the vowel is in fact written *oi* in that position, its usual pronunciation is the short *ao* sound, e.g., coileach, coille, goil, goirid, goireas. Gairm also is pronounced goirm, raineach (bracken) is roinneach (close *o* in both cases), and air has the same close *o* sound in air neo (otherwise). The word also appearing in my notes in "Bu tu a ghròig," meaning a sloven, a dawdler, is no doubt the same with the Perthshire draìchd, a slattern, a sloven, or dawdler at work, cited by Macbain from Armstrong; cf. Scot. "In the draiks; in a slovenly, disordered state." The close *o* sound forms, with *i*, a diphthong where *aoi* is now written in aoibhinn, Early Ir. áibind and óibind. In droigheann, soitheach, in which also the old vowel is *a*, not *o*, it is open *e* short that is heard.

The proper pronunciation of the digraph *ai* is either *a* or a diphthong *ai*, like the pronoun "I" in English. The latter pronunciation is found in such words as fàidh, tràigh ainneamh, aindeoin, aithne, daingean, caill, and also in saoibhir (for saidhbhir), the former in àird, fàilte, nàire, gràine, faire, maide, &c. Instead of an *a* sound, in many cases there is an *e* sound close, open, or nasal. The close *e* sound occurs in air, mairg.

Open *e* is the sound in aig, aitheamh, caitheamh, claidheamh, fàitheam, feur-saidhe (hay), and in oblique cases as aighe (gen. sing.) and aighean (nom. pl.) of agh (a hind), with which agree exactly the oblique cases of tigh (house). Rhys is undoubtedly right in regarding the word pronounced taigh, though written tigh, found also in "astigh," as a different word from teach, which we have in a steach, and in deriving the former from a deflected vowel form *togo, of the root *tego of the latter word. Our spelling tigh comes from the one form, while our pronunciation taigh really represents and must have come from the other form.

Nasal *e* is heard in ainm, aineolach, ainmhidh, aimlisg, aimsir, cnàimh, and oblique cases of damh.

Nasal *ei* as a diphthong may be heard in aingeal, aingidh, aimhleas, a'mhreit.

In some cases the sound is *ao* as in gàirdean, tairgse, and in the oblique cases of such words as marbh, tarbh, "mairbh," etc.

The digraph has the sound of *ũ* short in gainmheach, probably through the influence of the succeeding *mh*, pronounced *w* or *u* at some time, but now silent.

o.

Gaelic has two forms of the word for "great," the distinction in form being that the one has close *o* and the other open *o*. The one with close *o*—*mór*—is the ordinary form; the other—*mòr*—is used when emphasis is laid upon the word. The same distinction is made in the use of the derivative *móran* and *mòran*. The old language has both *mór* and *már*, meaning "great." In Skye only the close *o* forms—*mór*, *móran*—are found. The vowel is of course open as usual in *moirear*, which Macbain derives from *mór* and *maor*. If that derivation is correct, shortening of the vowel has taken place under the accent in *moirear* that is almost if not altogether unparalleled. Perhaps *muir-maor* may be more correct; cf. *morbhach*, *morghath*. The original duties of the official may have been to organise the coast defences against the Norse rovers.

The open *o* of *lòn* (food) distinguishes the word from the close *o* of *lón*, which means a marsh, but in Skye means a small burn or brook, such as often winds sluggishly through a marsh.

oi.

The pronunciations of *oi* are somewhat similar to those of *ai*. Modern *oi* for an old *ai* has already been noticed, and as in that case, so in some others, the digraph receives the sound of close *o* short, e.g., *doill*. The same pronunciation with nasalisation is found in one instance of the broadening of a slender vowel, viz., *roinn* for *rinn* (did). A similar broadening, but with short open *o* as the result, is found in *roilig* for *reilig* (a burying ground), Manx, *ruillick*; Irish, *reilig*, *roilig*. The long *é* given to the word in our Gaelic dictionaries seems to be due to the fanciful etymology "*reidh-leac*."

The digraph has sometimes the sound of close *e* short, as in *oillt*, *oighre*, of nasal *e* as in *coimheach*, *coimhead*, *coimhearsnach*, *roimh*, short *ao* as in *foidhidinn*, *coingheall*, *sgoim*, and adjective *sgoimeach*, also written *sgaoim* (fright), and short *aoi* as in *foill*, *foillsich*, *soillsich*.

u.

As with *a* and *o*, so also with *o* and *u*, an interchange or substitution of the one for the other is frequently found. The tendency appears in Skye to follow the more general and older pronunciation, as in the local forms, *mochthrath*, *moll*, *mosach*, *ullamh*, *umhail*, &c. The borrowed *rop* (a roup) and *ropaig* (to

roup) have *u* here, as has also *ploc*, head (of a pin). The word *for* and from "brimstone" undergoes many variations in Gaelic. In literature it is *pronnasg*, in Arran *pronnasdair*, in Perth *pronaistear*, in Badenoch *pronnasdail*, in Skye *prunnasdal*, in Macleod and Dewar "grunnasdan, Provincial," in Wester Ross *grumastal*.

In one or two words the changes are rung on *a* and *u*, and in one or two even on *a*, *o*, and *u*. "Weeping" is *gul*, and "less" is *lugh* with *ù* short. The latter is stated to have *a* for *u* in the Reay Country. *Furasda*, the word used here, is a different word from *farasda*. *Usa*, which may be heard with all three vowels, is here *asa*, O. Ir., *assu*.

ui.

In two instances the digraph *ui* is sounded as *i*, viz., *cruithneachd* (wheat), and *cuithe* (a snow wreath). That pronunciation is specially characteristic of Sutherlandshire Gaelic, and is also found largely in Munster.

In certain words as *cui*mse, *suidhe*, and those in which the digraph is preceded by *r*, both vowels are sounded diphthongally with a tendency to give the first the *û* sound.

Professor Rhys has noticed the *w* or *u* sound (as in English quick) found with initial *c* in some Manx words, e.g., *cui*g, five, pronounced *queig*, and attributing the sound to a preservation of an original labialised *q* (i.e., *qv*), asks if it is paralleled anywhere in Gaelic. The sound is found in Skye in certain words with initial *c* followed by *ui*. In none of the examples, however, does the *c* represent an original *q* labialised or otherwise, so that the conclusion is inevitable that the *w* or *u* sound found in Skye is not the preservation of an old sound, but the development of a new one. Examples are *cuibheas*, *cuibhrionn*, *cuimhne*, *cuing*, *cuidhteag* (the little finger), *cuibhill* (wheel), *cuibhrig*, *cuidhtich*, *cuigeal*, *cuilc*, in all which *cui* is pronounced like *quee* in English "queen." The same sound occurs also in the well-known name Quiraing, Gaelic *Cuidh-Fhraing*. The word *cuidh*, an enclosed field, though peculiar to the Hebrides, seems to be unknown in the part with which we are dealing of Skye.

e, ea.

Whether it is *e* or *a* of the digraph *ea* that shall be sounded appears to be determined by the following consonant or consonant group. Before a guttural *e* alone is sounded, as in *breac*, *creach*, *beachd*, *beag*. The vowel is open *e*, except before *g*, when it is

close. So before *r*, except *rr*, *rn*, *rd*, and *rt*, as *cearc*, *dearg*, *earar*, *fearann*, *ceathrar*, *earlais*, *dearmad*, to which add *earrainn* and *sreothartaich* as exceptions. The same open *e* is found also in *ealanta*, *eallach*, and with nasalisation in *meanglan*, *teanga*, *neart*.

The *a* or *ya* sound is heard nasalised or not, according to its contact in such words as *geal*, *dealbh*, *dealta*, *geall*, *greallag*, *deannal*, *cearr*, *bearna*, *dearna*, *ceard*, *ceart*, *geamhradh*.

Before *dh* and *gh*, *ea* follows *a* in taking the *ao* sound, long or short, which is the usual pronunciation in Scottish Gaelic as in *seadh*, *deagh*. Less usual is the short *ao*, heard for *ea*, in *eadar* and in the word written “*ged*,” but that would be more correctly written “*gead*.”

In *feabhas*, *leabhar* (book), *seabhag*, *treabh*, *ea* sounds *o*, or *yo*, open; and in *feadhainn* it is *yo* close.

ei.

That last sound of *yo* close is found for *ei* in *mu dheidhinn*, and also in the Skye equivalent for “*an déidh*,” viz., “*an deoghaidh*”; Wester Ross, *an deaghaidh*; Old Irish, *degaid*, the opposite of “*an aghaidh*.”

“Fad an deaghaidh bas an diulnaich
Dh’ fhàs a chrìobh gu h-ùrail réidh
Tha i nis an deaghaidh lùbadh
S’ a glùinean am beul a cléibh.”

—Mary MacPherson, p. 302.

Gheibh, frequently sounded with *yo* close for *ei*, and written *gheobh* in M. MacP., has here short *e* close for *ei*. *Ealamh* is pronounced “*alamh*”; Irish, *athlamh*; Early Irish, *athlam*.

e and *i*.

As with *a* and *o*, or *o* and *u*, there is an interchange of *e* (*ea*, *ei*) and *i* (*io*) in a number of words, e.g., *inbhir* is *eanbhar* in Perthshire. In Skye, *Inbhir-nis* is *Eanar-nis*. Of the words liable to this change, the following take short *e* nasal as their accented vowel:—*Eanchainn*, *gean*, *gionach*, *meanach*, *tionail*, *smior* (marrow), *smigead* (chin), *miotag*; while the following take short *i*:—*Ionann*, *iongar*, *gliongadaich*, *mil*, *milis*, *sileadh*, *meas* (esteem), *miosa*, *measg* (among), *neas* (weasel), *nise*, *rithisd*, *breitheamh*, *meadh-bhlàth*, pronounced here “*miong-bhlàth*.”

In féin, it is long *i*. When the vowel (*ea* or *io*) is followed by *nn*, it is frequently broadened into *u* (*yu*), as in lionn, reannag, tionndadh; pronounced lyunn, runnag, tyunndadh. This change into *u* is specially characteristic of Northern Gaelic. It is found in Skye, also in the word mèag (whey).

i, io.

The tendency to broaden *i* after *r* exhibited in such words as ruith, Old Ir. infinitive rith, ruighe, a slope, Early Ir. rige, is extended here to rìgh (king), "ruìgh," and rìghinn, "ruighin." Rìoghachd also is ruìgheachd. In all those instances the Old *i* represents an Indo-European *e*. In rinn (did) the broadening of *i* takes more of an *o* or *ao* sound "roinn."

The digraphs *io* and *iu*, so far as they are diphthongised, have been dealt with. There remain instances in which there is no diphthongisation.

Initially *io* may be heard as Gaelic *i* in iodhal, iongantach, and with the English sound of *i* as in "wit," "tin," in ionnhas, ionmhuin.

Medially *io* has the Gaelic sound of *i* (the *i* in English "piano") long in sgios, siobhalta, sìoda, prìosan, and short in crios, fios, ciotag, the following consonant, if mutable, having its broad sound. Iosal, however, is pronounced ìseal. In cionta, diog, fìodh, fìodh, spìol, *io* sounds yû short, and in cliobach it is close *e* short.

ao.

When *ao* represents Old Irish *ói* or *ái*, it is sounded like French *û*, and is represented by *u* in Welsh and Breton, as in aol, craobh, craos, glaodh (glue), laogh, saoghal, or *û* nasalised as in aon.

In two instances *ao* for an old *é* is also sounded *û*, viz., aodach, aodann.

Where the vowel in the old language was *a* or *o*, followed by *dh* or *gh*, *ao* has its distinctive sound, i.e., the sound of what philologists call the indefinite or indistinct or colourless vowel lengthened, or nearly the English sound of *u* in curl lengthened. Examples are aobhar (Ir. adhbhar, O. Ir. adbar), aoradh, faolum, usually written fòghlum. *Ao* is properly a long vowel, but the sound is very common as a short vowel, particularly as representing *a* or *o*, followed by *dh* or *gh*, as in adharc, fradharc, agh, aghaidh, lagh, foghar, roghainn. Air feadh is air aodh (*ao* short),

and deagh d'ao (ao long). Agus, which has often ao short and *g* aspirated, is here "aghus."

The word caomhain, whose pronunciation is usually exceptional, is here cù-in.

NASAL VOWELS.

Nasalisation of the accented vowels without apparent cause, *i.e.*, without nasal liquids in contact, is found in beul, caith, ciabhag (lock of hair), faigh, gruig (influenced by gnùis ?), treubh, uabhar (influenced by uamharr ?), while its absence is noteworthy in òran (not óran). In the case of beul it may be traceable to eclipsis, "am beul" being pronounced "am'ial."

ia and *ua*.

In the fixed diphthongs *ia* and *ua*, *a* receives the sound of *ao*, not in certain positions, as in some dialects, *e.g.*, before *dh* or *gh*, as biadh, liagh, but in every position, *e.g.*, cliabh, riabhach, fiach (worth), fiadh, fiadhaich, riaghailt, briathar, cliathach, liath, sgiath, fialaidh, fiamh, riamh, sgiamh, cian, dian, grian, miann, rian, sgian, srian, ciar, riarach. In all those the diphthong consists of *i* and *ao*.

It is the same with *ua*, *e.g.*, sguab, bruach, fuath, &c.

THE TENUES OR VOICELESS CONSONANTS, *p*, *t*, *c*.

A voiceless consonant and the corresponding voiced consonant, when not standing at the beginning of a word, approach each other so nearly in sound in Gaelic that they can with difficulty, if at all, be distinguished the one from the other at times. Evidence of the difficulty is furnished historically by the language, *e.g.*, Scottish and Irish fada (long) is in the Old Irish fota; Sc. and Ir., sud (yon), O. Ir., sút and siut; Sc. and Ir., bog (soft), O. Ir., bocc. In Modern Gaelic the pronunciation of the tenues varies in different districts. The difference is most marked in the case of *c*. In some districts it is sounded as *c* in English "cat" in all positions; in some districts it is preceded, when medial or final, by a guttural *ch*, as in Scottish "loch," so that mac (son) *e.g.*, is pronounced "machc," while in other districts it is in the same positions preceded by an aspirate *h*, as "mahc." Where *c*, medial and final, is sounded as with an *h* or a *ch* before it, *p* and *t* in the similar positions are also sounded as with an *h* before them. It

makes no difference in this connection whether the consonants are broad or slender.

In Skye that aspirate, in the case of *c* guttural *ch*, is found with the tenues in medial and final position, as in *tapaiddh*, *dripeil* (busy), pronounced *tahpaidh*, *drihpeil*, so *leapa* (Gen. of *leabaidh* bed), *cnap*.

t—*ciatach*, *tata.lh* (attaching to oneself), *bata*, *bàta*, *còta*, *caitean*, *cat*, *guit*, *tuit*, pronounced *ciahtach*, *caihtean*, &c.

c—*facal*, *fiacaill*, *tarcais*, *uircean*, *bac*, *beuc*, *ioc*, *pluc*, *cearc*, *adharc*, *fradharc*, *glic*, *taic*, pronounced *fachcal*, *tarcheuis*, *uirchcean*, *ao-arche*, *frao-arche* (*ao* short), &c.

bh.

Medially *bh* retains its full sound of *v* in *aoibhneas*, *asbhuaìn*, *cabhag*, *ciabhag* (lock of hair), *gàbhaidh*, *inbhe*, *saoibhir*, *sleibhtean*, *fàbhar*, *searbhannt*, *seirbheis*, &c.

Finally, it has its *v* sound in *baobh*, *cliabh*, *craobh*, *gabh*, *gheibh*, *sliabh*, also *leubh* (read for *leugh*, influenced, doubtless, by *leabhar*, book), in such words as *balbh*, *falbh*, *marbh*, *tarbh*, *mairbh*, in Datives Plural *beulaibh*, *cùlaibh*, *fearaibh*, *beòthaibh*, *geallanaibh*, *linnibh* (ages), &c., and the 2nd person plural Imperative *bristibh*; *falbhaidh*, *rachaidh*, *togaibh*, &c. The pronoun *sibh* also has the *v* sound, except before *féin* when it is *sip-fhéin*.

The sound of *w* for *bh* is rare, but is well exemplified in *abhainn*, “awinn,” and is also found in *cabhsair*. It is evidently the past influence of this pronunciation of *bh* that has caused *abhag* (terrier) to be pronounced with a *u* “a-ug.” An exact parallel is found in “*ca-udh*,” snow-driët, which is, unfortunately, written *cathadh*, whereas the Northern pronunciations that are significant on the point, e.g., in Lewis, “*cafadh*,” show the correct orthography to be *cabhadh*. In Arran “*càthadh*,” and in Ireland “*cáthadh*,” the first vowel is long, as if it were a different word.

Bh medially is altogether silent in numerous instances, as *àbhaist*, *aobhar*, *arbhar*, *cobhar* (foam), *dubhan*, *eibhleag*, *faobhar*, *feabhas*, *gobhar*, *lobhar*, *riabhach*, *sabhal*, “so-al,” *siubhal*, *sóbhrag*, *ubhal*, and finally as in *lobh*, *luibh*, *treabh*.

In *bithbhuantachd* *bh* is protected, owing, doubtless, to the preceding aspirate, and also in *siobhalta* (English, “civil,” borrowed). Far for *bharr* (from off) also is found repeatedly in Mary MacPherson’s compositions, e.g., p. 318—

"Seiche chruaidh far na faraidh
'S suinn le camain 'g a stràcadh."

Though *bh* equals *v* in *falbh*, *gabh*, *leubh*, it is wholly silent when, in process of conjugation a vowel comes after, as in *falbhaidh*, *gabhaidh*, *leubhadh*. So in *sabh* (to saw), *bh* equals *v*, while in *maileann-sabhaidh* it is silent.

DENTALS.

There is one instance of *t* not having the usual spirant sound in contact with a slender vowel. In *taitneach*, the medial *t* is sounded, not according to the rule in Gaelic, like English *ch* in "chief," or *teh* in "witch," but like English *t* in "wit." This exceptional pronunciation of slender *t* prevails widely in the case of that word, and also of the corresponding verb *taitinn*, and noun *taitneas*, which are little if at all used in Skye, and has been noticed by Professor Rhys in the Manx form *taitnys*, "joy, delight, pleasure," of the above noun *taitneas*. The non-spirant sounds of slender *t* and *d* are found in some districts in one or two other words with the liquid *n* near the dental, as *inntinn*, *foidhidinn*.

The combination *sr* has *t* introduced, as in *sraun*, *srath*, *sron*, *sruth*, &c., pronounced *strann*, *strath*, &c. *Briseadh*, *smuainich*, are respectively *bristeadh*, *smaointich*, and *peanas* is *peanaist*.

th.

Intervocalic *th* tends to be pronounced as an aspirate *h*, like *th* initial in Gaelic "thig," or *h* in English "harp," "heat," e.g., *aitheamh*, *bàthach* (byre), *cliathach*, *féatha* (a calm), *feitheamh*, *iutharna*. The tendency to sound *h* has drawn in even other consonants; at least that appears to be the explanation of the aspirate *h* in pronunciation, for *dh* in *claidheamh*, *fiadhaich*; for *fh* in *forfhais*; and for *mh* in *coimhead*. So *Lealt* in Trotternish, in Gaelic *Leth-allt*, is pronounced *Leth-h-allt*.

The change of *thar* and *thairis* into "far" and "fairis," found also in *Eigg*, is curious (*fairis*, McL. and D.).

Broad *dh*.

Broad *dh* medially retains its sound in a few instances, as *iodhal*, and the genitive *ficdha* (of wood), but is usually silent, as in *bodhar*. Sometimes, though its consonantal power is com-

pletely lost, as in *adharc*, *fradharc*, *feadhainn*, its influence remains in the change of the foregoing vowel into *ao*. In final position, *dh* usually retains its sound, as in *biadh*, *buadh*, *cladh*, *feadh*, *fiadh*, *fiodh*, *fiodh*, *glaodh* (cry), *glaodh* (glue), *gràdh*, *reodh*, *ruadh*, *cathadh* (snow drift), *cogadh*, *geamhradh*, *iomadh*, *iomradh*, *iongnadh*, *lionadh*, *madadh* (-*allaidh*), *moladh*, *reubadh*, *reusladh*, *samhradh*, *sileadh*, *tionndadh*, *treabhadh*, *coimhlionadh*, *ionaltradh*. Even in *féileadh* it is sometimes heard.

Similar to what we saw in the case of *bh*, *dh* though sounded in such a form as *biadh* (feed), is apt to become silent medially in such a form as *biadhadh* (feeding), but not in such as *glaodhaidh* (will cry).

Slender *dh*.

Slender *dh*, in final position in the future indicative, is sounded as in initial position, i.e., with a sound having the same relation to slender *ch* that broad *dh* and *gh* have to broad *ch*, e.g., *bruichidh* *clachaidh*, *cluichidh*, *iocaidh*, *ithidh*, *tachdaidh*, *toilichidh*, &c. Otherwise, it is silent medially and finally.

GUTTURALS.

Chunnaic occurs as *chunna* (Mary MacPherson, pp. 41, 170), and *thàinig* or *thàinig* as *thàin'* (id., p. 37).

In *chan eil* *ch* is a mere aspirate, "han eil," and in *chon* or *thun* it is entirely lost, "un." Elsewhere *ch* has its full guttural sound, e.g., in *drochaid*, which is generally "dro-id" in the North.

As in other districts, *g* is frequently elided in *agam*, *agad*, *againn*, *agaibh*, and is aspirated in *agus*.

Medially *gh* is heard in *aoghaire* and *aghus* (for *agus*), but is silent as a rule, as in *aghaidh*, *baoghal*, *braghad*, *carghus*, *foghar*, *lugh*, *roghainn*, *saoghal*.

Finally it is sounded in monosyllables, to which it is practically confined, as *agh*, *dragh*, *lagh*, *sluagh*, *sùgh*, *tagh*, *truagh*, &c. One exception is *brèagh* (fine), pronounced "bria."

Slender *gh*, medial and final, is silent, as in *àilgheas*, *tigh*, *iomhaigh*.

f

"Bho" for *fo* (under) occurs in Mary MacPherson, pp. 38, 136, and the same reduction of *f* to *bh*, i.e., to *v*, is heard in *éifeachdach*.

As already noticed, *s* is inserted, but not in the Trotternish district, in the group *rt*, whether broad or slender, as *marst*, *tarst*, *cuairst*, *doirst*, for *mart*, *tart*, *cuairt*, *doirt* respectively.

Scabhadh (a hawk), from Old English *heafoc*, is here pronounced *teobhadh*.

Esan (he) has *s* broad in some districts, but here slender.

mh.

The full sound *v* is given to *mh* medially in *diomhaín*, *iomhaigh*, *ainmhidh*, *banmhaighstir*, *ionmhainn*, *ionmhas*, *seanmhàthair*.

Finally the same sound as a rule is given as in *amh*, *caomh*, *cnàmh* (chew), *cnaimh* (bone), *damh*, and oblique cases *daimh*, *fiamh*, *gniomh*, *làmh*, *naomh*, *neamh*, *ràmh*, *riamh* (ever), *samh*, *snàmh*, *sniomh*, *tàmh*, *ainneamh*, *aitheamh*, *caitheamh*, *claidheamh*, *deanamh*, *ealamh*, *feitheamh*, *teagamh*, *toinneamh*, *ullamh*, etc., and the ordinals *ceithreamh*, etc.

Mh equals *w* in English brow, town, in *amhach*, *amhlair*, *amhail*, *damhsa*, *gamhainn*, *geamhradh*, *lamhach* (an axe), *reamhar*, “*ràwar*,” *samhradh*, and the plurals *cnamhan* (bones), *lamhan* (hands).

Mh has been completely silenced in *aimhleas*, *aimhreit*, *àmhuinn*, *caomhainn*, *coimhead*, *cumhang*, *nàmhaid*, *sàmhach*, *sgiamhach*, *umhail* (head), and also in *gainmheach*, *talmhainn* (gen.), and *talmhanan* (pl. of *talamh*), in which the preceding liquid is lengthened and followed by a parasitic *a*, *gainneamhach*, etc. In *fumhaire*, the Skye form of *famhair*, in the north *fomhair*, *mh* is silent, but has probably been the cause of the change of vowel to *u*.

In *càramh*, mending (so Mary MacPherson, p. 314, but *càradh*, p. 308), *mh* is silent, and in *coinneamh* (or *coinne*) the final syllable *eamh* is sounded Gaelic *u*.

n

Initially broad *n* seems at all times to have its aspirated sound, i.e., it always has the sound which it ought to have only after a word causing aspiration. Thus *n* in *nàire* standing alone does not differ from *n* in “*mo naire*.”

In the case of a slender *n*, the difference in sound is preserved, as *neart* pronounced “*nneart*” and “*no neart*.”

Medially broad *n* is unaspirated, in *ionann*, “*ionnann*.” Irish, *ionnan*, Old Irish, *inonn*, *innon*, and *inon*, and slender *n* is unaspirated in *cainnt*, *cinnteach*, *inntinn*, *muinntir*, *tearuinn*, not pronounced as in some parts *caint*, *intinn*, &c. Slender *n* is unaspirated also in “*roinneach*” for *raíneach* (bracken), while in *duine*, *teine*, both sounds seemed to be combined, *duin-nne*, *tein-nne*.

Finally slender *n* is unaspirated in *cuin* (when) “*cuinn*,” while it is aspirated in *mu dheidhinn*, *feadhainn*, *ionndrainn*, *roghainn*, *seachainn*, pronounced *dheo-in*, *iunndarain*, &c., and even in *Iain* usually pronounced “*Iainn*.”

The term “aspiration,” though not perhaps accurately descriptive in the case of the liquids *l*, *n*, *r*, is convenient, seeing that the changes in sound in their case follow exactly the same rule as aspiration does in the case of the other consonants.

ng

Ng equals English *ng* in “long,” “sing,” in *iongantach*, *langan*, *meanglan*, *rongais*, *seangan*, *teanga*, *gliong*, *meang*, also *aingéal* (angel), *athchuinge*, *cuinge*, *daingean*, *luingeas*, *cuing*, *muing*.

It is reinforced as in English “anger” (*ang-ger*), “finger” (*ing-ger*), by a *g* broad in *cungaidh*, *iongar*, slender in *aingidh*. *Puncail* sounds “*powngcail*.”

It equals *gh* in *coimhcheangal*, *n* in *ionga*, *nn* in *iongantas*, “*ionnatas*,” and is elided in *ceangail*, “*ceã-il*,” and *iongnadh*, “*iunadh*.”

In words in which *ng* in unaccented syllables is variously written *nn* and *g*, it is *nn* in *fulangas*, *sgillinn*, and *g* in *cumhang*, *fulang*, *tarrang*, “*tarag*” (a nail), in *aisling*, *bàirleigeadh*, *bodhaing* (body), *faillinn*, *fuiling*, *ludhaing*, *robaing* (to rob), *rubaing* (to roup, sell), *sglàmhraing*, *stuthaing* (to starch), and in place-names *Mugastad* for *Monkstadt*, *Fèirilig* for *Fèoirilig*. Mary MacPherson has *faillig* (pp. 227, 284, 299) *fuilig* (p. 187).

Cillig truisg, a large lean cod, as against *cilean* and *buidhnig* (so also Mary MacPherson, p. 91), as against *buidhinn*, may also be noted here. *Tarag* (a nail) has plural *tairnean*, and verb *tairn* (to nail) regular.

ASSIMILATION.

l.

Assimilation of *l* to *s* is seen in *boillsgeadh*, “*boisgeadh*,” and *soillse*, “*soise*,” whence Mr Macbain’s “*soise*,” a meteor portent, from MacAlpine.

T, on the other hand, is assimilated by *l* in *coltas*, “*collas*.”

n, with liquids.

N is assimilated to a foregoing *l*, with nasalisation of the preceding vowels in *uillnean* (elbows), to a following liquid without nasalisation in *coinnle* (gen.), and *coinnlean* (plu. of *coinneal*), *coinnlear*, and with nasalisation in *cuinnlean*, *iunleachd*, *ionraic*, *mànrán*, *ònrachd*.

n, with *s*.

Assimilation of *n* to *s* is seen in *anns*, pron. “*as*,” *ionnsaich*, *ionnsaidh*; also in *innis* (tell), notwithstanding the intervention of the vowel. “*Bha mi as an tobar*” means I was at (lit. in) the well.

n with dentals.

Before a dental *n* disappears in *grànda*, *iongantach*, *iongantas*, but assimilates the dental in *drannan*, *deanntag* (nettle), *iunntas*, *-drannan*, &c. Mary MacPherson says (p. 131)—

“*Ma bheir Sasunnaich dhaibh iunnas*
Cosdaidh iad an lionn ’s an ròic e.*”

ASSIMILATION EXTERNALLY.

Assimilation like aspiration operates also externally in intimate combinations of words, such as article and noun, preposition and noun, particle and verb. In such combinations, if the first word ends with *n*, that liquid is suppressed or lost when the following word begins with *l*, *n*, *r*, or *s*.

n l *an la* (the day) is *a’ la*; *nan la* (of the days) is *na’ la*; *an làthair* (in presence) is *a’ làthair*. So also such oblique cases as Gen. *a’ fhliodha* and Dat. *a’ fhliodh* of *a’ fliodh* (the chickweed).

n n *an nàmhaid* (the enemy) is *a’ nàmhaid*.

* Pron. *liunn*.

n r an rìgh (the king) is a' rìgh; an rioghachd (in a kingdom) is a' rioghachd; oblique cases like a' fhraoich, Gen., and a' fhraoch, Dat. of a' fraoch (the heather); do 'n rachadh e (to which he would go) is dha' rachadh e; gu' robh for gu 'n robh, Mary MacPherson—p. 212.

n s an saor (the carpenter) is a' saor; an sàs (in hold) is a' sàs; an so (here) is a' so; an sin (there) is 'sin—Mary MacPherson, p. 64; 'g an sàrachadh (oppressing them) is 'g a' sàrachadh; far an seilbhich iad (where they shall possess) is far a' seilbhich.

Before *m* and *f*, *m* for *n* is similarly dealt with.

m m am mac (the son) is a' mac; nam maor (of the officers) is na' maor.

m f am fàidh (the prophet) is a' fàidh; ann am fàsach (in a wilderness) is ann a' fàsach; chaidh e am feabhas (he got better) is a' feobhas; air am fògradh (banished) is air a' fògradh; far am faigh e (where he will get) is far a' faigh. Compare also a' bheil for am bheil (Mary MacPherson, 130), and far bheil for far am bheil (74, 85).

n with *s*.

The preposition *ann* (in), followed by the article or the relative deserves, in connection with the subject of assimilation, detailed notice illustrated from Mary MacPherson's accurately written book. Followed by the article, *anns* an *t*-, Old *isind*, appears as *a's t*- and as *'s t*-

“A's t-earrach dol an chladach còmhla
'S anns an t-samhradh buain na mòna
'S a' gheamhradh a' luadh nan clòithean
'S t-fhoghar cur an eorna cruinn” (p. 260)

“Nuair thig thu bhàn a's t-samhradh” occurs on p. 143, and “a's t-earrach” is repeated pp. 116, 194.

The following quotations exhibit assimilation of the preposition both with the article and the relative as well as a third assimilation to be noticed below:—

“'S a chearn 's na dh' àithneadh dhuinn le Dia
Chan fhaod sinn triall air sliabh no gaineimh” (p. 150).

“'S an dòigh na chleachdadh sibh” (p. 223).

“'S a ghleann an robh mi tàmh” (p. 221),

where the full forms would be respectively *Anns a' chearn anns an do-*, *Anns an doigh anns an do-*, and *Anns a ghleann anns an-*. Further examples of *s* for *anns* before the relative are *an gleann 's an robh mi òg* 89 ; *an tir 's na dh' àraicheadh* 70 ; *na fardaichean 's na dh' àraicheadh* 272 ; *teagasgan 's nach eil buanachd* 201.

An for *anns* appears in :—

“Soraidh leis an àit

'An d' fhuair mi m' arach òg (p. 20),

and in *'S iomadh àit 'an cualas d' iomradh* 95, while even *an* is reduced to *n* in :—

“Bho 'n dh' fhàg mi 'n gleann 'n robh na suinn gun ghò” (p. 28).

Those various pronunciations of *anns an* prevail both South and North. The remaining examples under assimilation are more exclusively Northern.

Gus an, *gus am* until seems to be rarely used, *gus na dh' eubh e*, until he cried. *Gu 'n*, *gu 'm* are the forms generally used.

“Is gabhaidh sinn rann

Gu 'n cuirear an dram an òrdugh dhuibh” (p. 186).

“Thàinig fios an dràsta

Bho 'n a' Bhan-rìgh le luchd iùmpadh

Nach caidil cuid 's a' Phàrlamaid

Gu 'n dean iad càch a dhusgadh” (p. 134).

So *gu 'n* till thu, until you return, 310 ; *gu 'm* faigh mi, until I get, 282, 283 ; *gu 'm* biodh i, until she might be, 18 ; *gu 'm* brist an t-snaim, until the knot break, 177.

Mas an, *mas am*, or *mus an*, *mus am*, before, ere, seems to occur in Skye only in the forms *mas* and *mu 'n*, *mu 'm* :—

“Thoir suas do cheòl

Mas bi sinn air ar nàrachadh” (p. 13),

Phàidh na h-uachdarain dhaibh duais

Mas da ghluais iad o 'n a' bhaile (p. 152),

“'S gu 'n dhearbhu thu buaidh mu 'n dhealaich sibh” (p. 287).

Gu 'n may be, not a reduction of *gus an*, which consists of the preposition *gu* (Old, *co*), but the direct descendant of the old conjunction *con*, meaning until. *Mas an*, as it is more complicated as to form, is also more obscure of origin. There is reason to think that *mas an* may have been influenced by the analogy of *gus an*, or that *mu 'n* may have been influenced by that of *gu 'n*.

n, with *d*.

Assimilation between *an* (*'n*), of the relative or conjunction, and the verbal particle *do* with *na*, or sometimes *n*, is a distinctive feature of Northern Gaelic. Thus "A' cheud ni ai: an do chrom e" (lit., The first thing on which he bent) is

"B' e chiad ni air na chròm e
Bhi plùcadh sìos nam bantrach" (p. 121).

'*S na*, and even *na*, for *anns an do*, appear in the quotations above from pp. 150, 223, 70, 272. Further instances of *na* for *an do* are far na dh' àraicheadh na Gaisgich, pp. 246, 260; far na bhuaicheadh, 29; far na chleach sibh, 233; far na choinnich, 249; far na sheinn mi, 166; far na thachair, 249; far na thogadh, 7; leis na nochd na laoiach an tàlant, 250; gus na chuir i (until she put), 170; gus na thionndadh mi, 168; gus na dh' fhalbh mi, 296; H-uile taobh na thrial thu (wherever you travelled), 72.

In all those instances the foregoing preposition has a consonantal ending. In the following it has a vocalic ending, and *an* is, in correct orthography, written *'n*. Thus for gu 'n do chreach there is gu 'n chreach iad sinn, p. 34. So gu 'n dh' aithnicheadh, 122; gu 'n dh' éirich, 174; gu 'n choisinn, 138; gu 'n chruinnich, 184; gu 'n chuireadh, 184; gu 'n dhealaich, 186; gu 'n dhearbha, 83, &c.; gu 'n ghabh, 217, &c.; gu 'n leig, 29; gu 'n reic, 253; gu 'n rinn, 138; gu 'n smaoinich, 174; gu 'n tharladh, 99; gu 'n thill, 51, &c.; gu 'n thog, 138.

Mu 'n do is represented in mu 'n dhealaich sibh, 287, already quoted, and na 'n do in ;—

"'S gur mi nach ainmicheadh e na d' fhianuis
Na 'n chum thu riaghladh rium mar bu choir dhuit."

—p. 253.

Against so many instances of assimilation in the case of the verbal particle, my notes show one instance of non-assimilation in An cala o 'n d' rinn iad seòladh—the haven whence they sailed—which may be set down as a lapse into the literary form. —

DISSIMILATION.

Substitution of one liquid for another appears in mèaranaich for mèananaich (yawning) and in Eilear-nis more frequent than Eanar-nis, which is also used as Gaelic of "Inverness."

M and *b*, *p*, or *n* and *d*, *t* usually assimilate. Sometimes the opposite takes place; the one produces the other. *Gràpa*, a graip, dung fork, borrowed from the English, is in Trotternish *grampa*.

Externally, i.e., not within a word but between two words, we have seen how a *d* is seldom or never allowed to stand after an *n*. On the other hand, in a few instances, a *d* is arbitrarily inserted after an *n*, as an *d-aghaidh* for an *aghaidh* (against); an *d-Iosa* (in Jesus); an *d-uair* for an *uair* or '*nuair* (when); *na 'n d-éubhadh e* for *na 'n eubhadh e*, if he would call. Compare also *Cha d-fhiach* for *cha 'n fhiach*, both being used. Perhaps in those cases there is an echo of the *d* that is so prominent here after the article in certain positions.

METATHESIS.

Faoislich for *foillsich*, *saoislich* for *soillsich*, *cruallan* for *cluaran*, *Naoghas* (*ao* short) for *Aonghas*, and *deisbigéal* for *deisciobul* may be noted.

ASPIRATION.

The law which has ruled aspiration in Gaelic is that a single consonant got aspirated whenever it came between two vowels. The process has not always, however, ended with aspiration. In some cases vocalisation has supervened, and sometimes total elimination has been the final result. The three stages may be found in one word in Skye; *làmh* (hand) *mh* = *v*, shows aspiration; the plural *lamhan* *mh* = *v* shows vocalisation, and the genitive singular which in Skye is *làimheach*, pron. *l'é-ach* *mh* = *nil*, shows elimination. What is specially noteworthy in relation to the law of aspiration is that an aspirated consonant which retains its true aspirated sound when it stands at the end of a word is either vocalised or eliminated when it comes in course of inflection to stand between two vowels. Further examples are:—

<i>mh</i> = <i>v</i> in <i>cnàimh</i>	= <i>w</i> in plu. <i>cnamhan</i> .
<i>bh</i> = <i>v</i> in <i>eubh</i> (call)	= <i>nil</i> in Subj. <i>eubhadh</i> .
„ <i>gabh</i>	= <i>nil</i> in Fut. Ind. <i>gabhaidh</i> .
„ <i>falbh</i>	= „ „ <i>falbhaidh</i> .
„ <i>leubh</i> (read)	= „ in Infinitive <i>leubhadh</i> .
„ <i>sabh</i>	= „ „ <i>sàbhadh</i> .
<i>dh</i> sounded in <i>biadh</i>	= <i>nil</i> „ <i>biadhadh</i> .

Initial aspiration follows the same law as internal aspiration; it has taken place wherever the preceding word in such

intimate combinations or grammatical “units” as article and noun, preposition and noun, noun and adjective, &c., ended in a vowel. In present day Gaelic, however, certain words which are constantly in use have taken on initial aspiration permanently, e.g., *chun*, *chugam*, *thall*, *thar*, *thairis*. In the case of *thairis* Mr Macbain attributes the aspiration to a suppressed or supposed suppressed *do*. That is the explanation of many permanent initial aspirations, but *do* is not admissible in all cases. For example, *cho*, the particle of comparison, is almost always aspirated, “*Cho dubh ri feannag*.” The prepositional pronouns, *domh*, *diom* (except after words ending with *n*, *s*, or *t*), *chugam*, and *tharam*, through all the persons are practically always in the aspirated form. In Skye, as in other parts of the North, the prepositions *de* and *do* are rarely, if ever, heard in the unaspirated form. Mary MacPherson has:—

“*Gheobh mi rùsg dhe ’n chlàimh is fhearr*” (p. 73).

So *dhe na Domhnullaich*, 169 ; *dhe ’n lamhan*, 40 ; *dhe ’n t-saoghal*, 54 ; *dhe ’n talamh*, 68 ; *dhe ar cairdean*, 33 ; *dhe mo mhuinntir*, 43, &c., &c.

Speaking of the Gaelic, she says:—

“*Is ionnsaichibh dha ’n oigridh i*” (p. 38).

So *dha ’n t-saoghal*, 41 ; *dha ’n t-sluagh*, 8 ; *dha ’n té*, 57 ; *dha ar dùthaich*, 38 ; *dha ’n aithne*, 57 ; *dha ’m bu dùthchas*, 69 ; *dha ’n tug mi*, 7, &c., &c.

Both prepositions may further be found reduced to *a* or eliminated altogether, as in *Chaidh e Dhun-bheagain* for *Chaidh e do Dhun-bheagain*. Mary MacPherson has *a chaoirich* for *ae chaoirich*, &c., in

“*’S iomadh duine còir le lamhchraich*
A chaoirich ’s a chrodh laoigh air àiridh
Tha ’n diugh a tamh an garraid ghrainnde
’S air an t-sràid a’ dol a dhith” (p. 260).

So “*Bha moran a chàch*” (for *moran de chàch*), 188 ; “*Am beagan a bh’ agad a nàire*, 276 ; *a chomhlan*, 36 ; *a Ghaidheal*, 180, &c.

A for *do*—*Nuair a theid thu suas a Lunainn*, 52 ; *A tilleadh a thir an dùthchais*, 160, &c.

De is eliminated, *Ma bhios e mhaoin fo m’ chòir*, 178, for “*de mhaoin*” ;

"Cuid mhor dhe na tha shluagh ann
Cho cuagach ri camanan" (p. 284)

for "na tha dhe shluagh."

Do eliminated—'S gu 'n ruig mi Ghlaschu sàbhailt, 124

'S iomadh fear a chaidh an chùbaid

Nach do dh' altaich riamh a ghlùinean (241).

Only when the preposition is duplicated, i.e., before a word beginning with a vowel, or *f*, followed by a vowel, does the unaspirated form appear to occur as *de dh'* airgid, 73; *de dh'* fheoil, 6; *do dh'* aobhar, 140. The *a* form and the elimination are to be found more or less everywhere. It is the aspirated forms *dhe* and *dho* that are peculiar to the North.

The hardening of *dh* which is found in Munster in *ge* for *de*, *dhe*, seems to be the explanation of *g* in "Mart g'am b'ainm a Ghròiseann," p. 96; "Is a h-uile taobh g'an teid mi" 163; "A h-uile taobh g'an triall thu," 61; "-g'an triall iad," 121, in all which the form would be *d'an* or *d'am* in the South. Compare also "Chan urrainn daibh fhéin ga aiceadh," 243; "Chan urrainn domh ga d' fhàgail," 144.

It may be noted that in the prepositions *le* and *ri*, and the prepositional pronouns formed from them, *leam*, etc., and *rinn*, etc., the initial letters have permanently the sound which corresponds to aspiration in other consonants, i.e., they are pronounced, not *lle*, *lleam*, *rri*, *rrium*, etc., but *le*, *leam*, *ri*, *rium*, etc. That, of course, is true not of Skye alone.

Cha dean (will not do) is here *cha dhean*.

Irregular aspiration, such as that of *de* and *do*, is not a wholly modern feature. For example, *chaidh* (for ever), from *co-aidche*, i.e., *gu oidhche* has initial aspiration even in Early Irish—*chaidche*. On this subject Windisch says in his Grammar of Old Irish, §95:—In some words a certain fleetness in the articulation appears to have led to a permanent aspiration of the initial sound: *chucai*, *chucu* [i.e., *chuige*, *chuca*] etc." Fleetness of articulation cannot well be affirmed of all the cases of irregular aspiration. The true cause seems to be incessant use, that potent factor in wearing down language and rubbing it smooth.

ECLIPSIS.

Eclipsis, which is hardly noticeable in the case of the *tenues* in Skye, comes into prominence in the case of the *mediae*. For example, *tir nam beann*, *nan gleann*, 's *nan gaisgeach* is "Tir nam

'eann, nan 'leann, 's nan 'aisgeach" Before *g* (and *c*) *n* itself, be it observed, is always sounded *ng*, like *ng* in English "bang," "sing," so that the difference between non-eclipsis and eclipsis in the case of *g* is that in the former an gleann or nan gleann is strictly pronounced ang gleann or nang gleann, and in the latter ang 'leann, nang 'leann. The difference between *ng'* and *ng g* is the same as that between *ng* and *ng* reinforced by *g* pointed out above, and is also the same as the difference in English between the *ng* of "long," "sing," and the *ng* of "anger," "finger." Further examples of eclipsis are :—

b after *m*, am baile (the town), am 'aile ; am bard am 'ard ; am bochd am 'ochd ; nam baile (of the towns), nam 'aile ; so nam bard, nam bochd, &c.

d after *n*, an duine (the man), an 'uine ; an damh an 'amh, &c., an dórán gràda ! (poor creature), an 'órán gràda.

an deaghaidh (after) an 'eaghaidh.

aon duine (one man) aon 'uine.

g after *n*, an geamhradh (the winter) an 'eamhradh ; an glaoth an 'laodh (ang 'laodh), &c.

The process is not wholly regular or consistently carried out. "Of the tears," *e.g.*, is nan deur not nan 'eur.

In place names Rudh an Dunain in Minginish is Rudh an 'unain. Not far from Portree are Tianabhaig bay, burn, ben, and Camastianabhaig. Locally Beinn 'ianabhaig may be heard for Beinn Tianabhaig (Beinn Dionabhaig—Mary MacPherson, p. 23).

The change of bealaidh (broom) into mealaidh, and of teine-dé into deine-dé (St Anthony's fire, also a butterfly, so McLeod & Dewar, s.v. "butterfly"), and the nasalisation of the vowel of beul already referred to may be held to be the results of eclipsis.

PROTHESIS.

An *f* is prefixed in faithnich (so Mary MacPherson, pp. 17, 36, &c.), and in failmse, and is dropped in reumhach (root), and éile or éileadh (kilt).

Ealag a block is here dealag.

Before an initial vowel, *h* is sometimes inserted, and sometimes not, after certain words. The tendency here is to insert that letter, as shown by Mary MacPherson ; after prepositions : le *h*-aiteas, pp. 35, 110 ; re *h*-uine, p. 44 ; after conjunctions, with substantive verb obscured : gur *a h*-e, and gur *h*-e, "that it is," both p. 289 ; gur *h*-ise bhios sona, "that it is she that will be

happy," 91 ; 'S gur h-onair dha ar duthaich thu, 38 ; gur h-uallach mo nighean dubh, 307 ; mur a h-e, 276 ; ge h-iomadh, "though so many," "notwithstanding how many," 37, 49.

SUFFIXES.

The syllable *ach*, suffixed to *iomad*, as *iomadach gnìomh* (many a deed), *iomadach uair* (many a time), is met with in other districts in that and other words.

The *ach* in *freumhach*, here *riamhach*, seems to be more significant, and to equal in force the English *ing* in *grating*, from *grate*, *offing*, *railing* (a system or line of rails), in which sense the suffix is very common in topography.

"Cha b' e sgàile de dhiadhachd
Gun sùgh anns an fhriamhaich."

—Mary MacPherson, p. 92.

SUFFIXED VOWELS.

As between Irish, more particularly Old Irish, and Gaelic, there is a tendency in the latter to drop a terminal vowel, as in Ir. and O. Ir. *trócaire*, Gael. *trócair*. In some districts, of which Skye is one, the tendency is to retain such vowels, e.g., *iomair* (a ridge of land), in Skye and Ireland, *iomaire* ; Early Ir., *immaire*. So strong is that tendency in places, that such vowels are intrusively affixed, e.g., *famhair*, *guit*, *iolair*, are in Skye *fumhaire*, *guite*, *iolaire* ; and *cat*, *dealt*, *fèath*, *foghar*, *iutharn*, *srann*, are *cata*, *dealta*, *féatha*, *fogharadh* (on analogy of *geamhradh*, *samhradh*), *iutharna*, *stranna* ("Cha dubhairt e stranna," "Cha tainig stranna as a bheul"). Possibly this last is *strannadh*, for, owing either to confusion introduced by that partiality for a terminal vowel, or to loss of the proper noun form, there is a tendency in certain cases to use the infinitive in lieu of the noun.

INTERCALATION OF VOWELS.

The separation of certain groups of consonants by the introduction of a vowel is a feature that extends far back into the old language, e.g., *iarunn*, O. Ir. *iarn*, had become *iarunn* away back in the Middle Ages. The feature is more prominent in Northern Gaelic than in Southern. In Skye *a* is inserted in such instances as the following :—

iomchaidh is iomachaidh	ionmhuinn is ionamhuinn
iomlaid is iomalaid	ionndrain is iondarain
iomradh is iomaradh	dearmad is dearamad
eanchainn is eanachainn	iurpais is iurapais

Mary Macpherson has dualachas, 150 ; iarratas, 3 ; and Murachadh, 227, etc.

In ainlisg, ainm, *i* is inserted—*ẽmilisg*, *ẽnim*.

The vowel is found also in instances in which the consonant following the liquid is not only aspirated, but has wholly lost its force, as coingheal, “coinea-al;” gainmheach, “gainea-ach;” arbhar, “ara-ar;” dorghach, “dora-ach;” forfhais, “forahais.” In such cases the foregoing liquid is prolonged in sound. The vowel is also found sometimes between the two constituents of a compound word, as bana-mhaighstir (mistress), seana-mhathair (grandmother), mula-mhàgag (a frog) for mial-mhàgain, and frequently after aon, when the following word is aspirated initially—dh’aona bheachd (of one mind), aona mhac, etc.

It is found also in words ending with a liquid and other consonant, as balbh, falbh, marbh, tarbh, bulg, calg, mairbh, tairbh, etc. ; “balabh,” “marabh,” mairibh, etc. So cealgach, “cealagach.”

The *a* added on to gur, mur, may also be compared, though it might be regarded as a survival of an old vowel co-ro and mani. To illustrate again from Mary Macpherson—

“Nis dearbhaibh gura Gàidheal sibh,” p. 33.

“Mura tig thu nall, a Mhàiri,” p. 10.

It occurs also with *i* (’s) of the verb to be—

“Ach ma gheobh mi a so sàbhailt

Ni mi ’m paidheadh ma ’s a beò mi,” p. 266.

ARTICLE.

The article is followed by a *t* before words with initial *s* followed by *l*, *n*, *r*, or a vowel in the cases in which other consonants are aspirated, and also before the nominative singular of masculine nouns with an initial vowel. That is in agreement both with the literary and with the old language. Another feature connected with the article in the old language has been lost in the literary language, but is in part retained in Skye. In the old language the article was followed by *d* before vowels, and before *l*, *n*, *r*, or *f* in those positions in which aspiration takes place. In Skye that *d* of the article has been kept before *fh* :—

MASCULINE NOUNS.

Nominative.	Genitive.	Dative.
a' fàidh (the prophet)	an d-fhàidhe	an d-fhàidh
a' faitheam (the hem)	an d-fhaitheim	an d-fhaitheam
a' falt (the hair)	an d-fhuilt	an d-fhalt
a' fiar (the grass)	an d-fheóir	an d-fhiar
a' fiodh (the timber)	an d-fhiodha	an d-fhiodh
a' foghar (the harvest)	an d-fhoghair	an d-fhoghar
a' foghlum (the learning)	an d-fhoghlum	an d-fhoghlum
a' fonn (the tune)	an d-fhuinn	an d-fhonn
a' fuath (the aversion)	an d-fhuatha	an d-fhuath

Sometimes *d* is absent, *e.g.*, Nom. a' fear (the man), Gen. an fhir, Dat. an fhear; so with fàd (a sod), fumhaire, (a giant—famhair).

With feminine nouns there is a great irregularity. The following are instances in which *d* occurs:—

FEMININE NOUNS.

Nominative.	Dative.
an d-fhois (the rest)	an d-fhois
an d-fheòil (the flesh)	an d-fheòil
an d-fhuil (the blood)	an d-fhuil
an d-fhairge (the sea)	an fhairge
an d-fhearg (the wrath)	an fheirg

Feadhainn, here feodhainn, has Gen. an d-fheodhainn (of the people). “Anns an d-fhàsach” (in the wilderness) also occurs, and may be an instance of the feminine, as that noun is feminine in the north.

Traces of *d* before initial vowels, as in the old language, also occur; “ceann an d-aighe,” the heifer's head; “anns an d-ùir,” in the dust (*i.e.*, grave); sgòthan air an d-athar, clouds on the sky. Féile kilt, here éile or éileadh, is stated to be—Nom., an t-éile; Gen. and Dat., an d-éile. In place names Uig, in Duirinish, is “an Uig” and “an d-Uig,” and Eist, off the coast of the same parish, is “an d-Eiste.”

NOUN.

The Genitive of làmh (hand) is làimheach, of feòl (flesh) feòladh, and of sròn (nose) sròineadh, *dh* being sounded in both words. The two last instances at least have, doubtless, been influenced by the analogy of so many words ending with a vowel

and sounded *dh*. The Gen. of lit (porridge) is here, as it was not long ago in Badenoch, litinn, Early Irish Gen. liten.

The Plural of *traigh* (beach) is *trainnean*.

The tendency which exists in certain districts, particularly in versification, to make the Nom. Plu., sometimes also the Gen., like the Dat. in *ibh* betrays itself in Skye also. *Geallanaibh* occurs as Gen. Plu. of *geall* (promise) in some local verses. Mary MacPherson has, p. 192—

“Leis an fhàile far nam beannaibh,”

where *far* for *bharr* used as a preposition is followed as it ought to be, and as it is elsewhere in her compositions, by the Genitive. She also has, according to my notes, *ciataibh* as a Nom. Plu. and *ceutaibh* as a Gen., both on page 223.

PRONOUN.

In the north *nar* is found for *ar n*-. Both forms are used in Skye; *ni nach cualas ri nar linn* (Mary MacPherson, p. 89); *a bha riamh ga nar còmhnaidh* (id. p. 112); *ga ar n-ùrachadh* (p. 88); *ga ar cuireadh* (to invite us), *tha sinn na ar traillean* (we are slaves). The Old Irish *nàthar*, *nàr*, as in *cechtar náthar* (each of us) is not a possessive pronoun, but the gen. dual of the first personal pronoun.

VOCABULARY.

ailmse, inadvertence, mistake, error; Shaw, McL. & D. Mary MacPherson, in allusion to dancing, says, p. 106 :—

“’S beag nach tug mi fhìn
an t-sinteag ann am failmse.”

banachag, a dairymaid; McL. & D., s.v. “dairymaid”; in Ross and Sutherland, *banachaig*.

bàrasglaich, boasting; Mary MacPherson, p. 11.

bàth, foolish; Mary MacPherson, p. 157; so Reay Country.

bearrannan, scissors or shears; Mary MacPherson, p. 122.

bonnanaich, active, lithe young men; Mary MacPherson, 105;
cf. *bonnanta*, *bunanta*.

bòt, for *pota*? q.v.

“Gach bòt is poll agus talamh-toll

A toirt na mo chuimhne nuair bha mi og.”

—M. MacP., p. 29.

brig, a heap ; a heap of peats or potatoes built up with boards in a corner of the house ; v. Macbain.

“Nuair thigeadh an Fheill-Martuinn
 'S an spréidh 's am barr air dòigh,
 Na fir a deanamh cainnteig,
 'S na plàtaichean n' an torr ;
 Ri taobh na brig bhuntàta
 Bhiodh baraill lan de dh' fheòil,
 Sud mar chaidh ar n-àrach
 Ann an Eilean ard a' Cheò.”

—M. MacP., p. 6.

bugha, a green spot by a stream ; a side form of bogha, a bow, such spots being made bow-shaped by the windings of the stream. Hence Bonamuc, “Bughan nam Muc,” near Dunvegan.

caimeineach, a small trout ; caimeineach, mottled or spotted, from caimein ; M. MacP., p. 53. At p. 18, however, she has “caimheineach,” and in “Gaelic Proverbs and Maxims” (*Oban Times*, 23rd December, 1899), appeared “Cho sona ri caibheanach ann an sruth.”

cainneag, a plait of straw for making into bags ; see plàt, sub. ; cainnteag M. MacP., v. under brig, supra ; “cainneag a hamper, Skye” ; Macbain.

camlag, a curl of hair ; camlagach, curly, or bushy-haired ; M. MacP., p. 116 ; càl camlagach, “kail” ; confusion of amlag and camag.

clid ; M. MacP., p. 290, strength from cli, vigour.

conn, the thread tying a hundred of yarn for weaving.

cramaist, a crease caused in cloth by folding.

cramasgadh, creasing ; air a chr. creased.

craosail, a gaping mouth.

cratach, back (of a person) ; side in Glenmoriston and Wester Ross ; from root of croit, the back.

cùlaist, inner apartment of old Highland houses ; Wester Ross also.

“Ma bhios mise beò 's mi falbh
 A sheòid, air faighe cluaimhe
 Gu 'n toir thu dhomh na rùisg
 As a chùlaist an taobh shuas diot.”

—M. MacP., p. 117, also p. 194.

dealasachd, ardour, fervour ; M. M'P., p. 65.

deileasach, convenient, advantageous, having easy access to conveniences or advantages.

deiseil, ready, for and from deas.

diorrais, perpetual work, bustle

dreòdag ; M. M'P., p. 93, v. streòdag, sub.

eugmhail, harm, evil ; M. M'P., p. 69. Cf. teugmhail.

fadachd, weariness, longing for one's coming. An robh thu gabhail fadachd, were you wearying for me ; the northern equivalent of fadal.

fiadhaich, invite, make welcome, give a welcome to.

“Nuair dh' fhiathaicheas do chàirdean thu
'N tigh-thàirnge, na toir cluas dhaibh”

—Mary Macpherson, p. 115 ; also fiathachadh,
p. 102 ; dh' iadhaich, p. 161.

Ir. fiadh, food (O'Brien) ; O. Ir. “fiad, honour?” Windisch, who quotes fiadúghadh [fiadhughadh ?], to welcome, to honour. If O. Ir. fiad means “honour,” and not “food,” the honour or respect meant is that shown to a visitor, which, among the Gaels particularly, is intimately connected with food or hospitality.

fiatach, quiet and sly, stealthy.

fleòdradh, floating? Tha mi fl. le fallus, in a bath of perspiration, “floating with perspiration?”

flithne, sleet, so Arran ; flichne, Shaw, M'F.

fuaidne, the leese pins of warping stakes ; M'L. & D., M. MacP., p. 238.

gnoigean, a ball of rosin put on the points of the horns of vicious cattle.

greòd, a group, company, crowd ; M. MacP., 18, 18 ; Macbain Additional Gaelic Words, Transactions, Vol. XXI.

guim, artifice, trick, plot ; M. MacP., 151.

iomfhuasgladh, minor equipments, small conveniences, such as those of the work-basket.

iomchar, accusing, blaming ; tha e ag iomchar air, he is blaming or accusing him ; influenced by iomchoire, blame.

iompadh, advice, counsel (that which turns, iompaidh, turning).

Thug e iompadh air, he advised him. Luchd iùmpaidh, the Cabinet ; M. MacP., p. 134.

lamhchradh, a handling (of sheep and cattle) ; M. MacP., 260.

laom, go to shaw, of potatoes.

laosg, a rabble ; M. MacP., 174.

- lith, grease for smearing ; M. MacP., 252.
 lochan tàimh, a loch without outflow ; M. MacP., 28.
 lòchradh, soaking ? Bha sinn air l. le fallus ; M. MacP., 255.
 logaidh, long hair on forehead of cattle, sometimes mane of horse, from Eng. lock.
 lògar, a kind of reed ; M. MacP., 21.
 lòn, a small brook, especially with marshy banks, a specialisation of the word lòn marsh ; M. MacP., pp. 18, 29, 30.
 lughadair, a swearer ; M. MacP., p. 147.
 mart lamhach, a mart (cow) for killing, from lamhach, an axe.
 mealaidh, broom, *b* changed to *m* by eclipsis.
 miolainn ort, an imprecation, "bad condition to you," mi-loinn.
 moltair grist, grain to be ground ; multure Shaw, from English multure ; "Mar mholtair ann an òpar," M. MacP., 59.
 òpar, a mill-hopper, from Eng.
 ordan, adjustment, arrangement, a side form of ordugh. The Ir. is ord.
 plät, a corn bag made of plaits of straw ; v. cainneag and quotation under brig supra, and cf. plàdar (plàdan ?) a circular dish made of plaited straw used for corn (Tiree). Campbell's Superstitions of Scottish Highlands, p. 99.
 plodadh na talmhan, removing the clods from turnip land ; plodan, a clod ; Macbain plod.
 pota, hole from which peat has been cut ; v. bòt supra ; Scot. peat-pot, peat-pat, idem.
 reathadh, would go ; M. MacP., p. 254 ; common in the north, a side form of rachadh, also pron. reachadh. Early Ir. of rach is raga, rega.
 roc, a wrinkle, ruck or crease in cloth caused by drawing threads too tight in weaving ; roc, wrinkle, Macbain.
 ròd, a drill, row (of potatoes) ; cf. ròd, a quantity of seaweed cast on the shore (a roll, line, or "row" of seaweed ?)
 ròdadh, blading, properly forming or showing rows (of potatoes). Tha am buntata ròdadh, the potatoes are coming through the ground.
 ròl, long continued noise ; M. MacP., p. 18 ; cf. following word.
 ròlaich, continued noise ; ròlaich órain, an interminable song ; nach ann orra tha an ròlaich (of cattle when making a great lowing).
 ruighich, handcuffs ; M. MacP., p. 111.
 sgairream, idle talk ; M. MacP., 66, 93, 163.
 sgathaig, a fright.
 sgeigeir, a gander ; M.L. & D.

- sgeil, loud and rapid utterance, gabble. Nach ann tha an sgeil air do theangaidh ; also M. MacP., 89.
- sgìoblaich, clear away, take away ; M. MacP., 313.
- sgòdail, ragged, from sgòd, corner, sheet.
- sgòth, a cloud (shadow ?) ; sgòthan air a ghréin, clouds on the sun ; sgòthan air an d-athar, clouds on the sky.
- sgraidht, an old cow ; v. Macbain, sub. sgraideag.
- sgreuth, shrivel, shrink with drought as a tub ; sgreubh, &c. Macbain.
- sgrioban, a hand-line ; dorghach leis an sgrioban, fishing with the hand-line.
- siar, to sprain ; shiar mi mo chas, I sprained my ankle ; siar, to cast away, M'L. & D.
- siolp ; slip in or out unperceived, skulk.
- sioman, a heather rope, Sc. simmond idem ; sùgan, a straw rope ; M. MacP., 194.
- soirbheas, wind on the sea ; M. MacP., 218 ; Macbain Addit. Gaelic Words, Transactions, Vol. XXI. The word, which is peculiar to the seaboard population, properly means gentleness, and is evidently a propitiatory designation used deprecatingly by those who have cause to dread the fury of the wind. It is further extended to flatulence in Argyllshire.
- somuiltean, senses, wits ; bu tu an creutair gun somuiltean, or nach tu chaill do shomuiltean, said to a stupid or careless person. The plural of sumaid has the meaning "external senses" (the five senses ?) v. Macbain.
- spàrag, boasting, boastfulness ; display of strength ; M. MacP., p. 64 ; cf. spàrrag, "undue vehemence in enforcing an argument" ; McL. & D.
- stadh, a swath of cut corn ; MacAlpine = spadhadh.
- steàirdean, name of a sea-bird.
- steòrnail, thrifty ; managing ; M. MacP., 296.
- stràcan, a tour, excursion ; cf. stràcair, a vagabond ; M. MacP., 20.
- streòdag, a little liquor.
- " Chunnaic mis' e aon oidhche
 Agus dreòdag 's a cheann aig."
 —M. MacP., 93 (read "Agus streòdag").
- tàimhidh, gentle, still ; M. MacP., 28, 158.
- talamh-toll, an opening over a burn running underground.
 See under bòt, supra.

tlàth, warmth ; kindness ; tenderness ; M. MacP., p. 220 ;
Thàinig tlàth air mo chridhe, "My heart warmed, or
melted."

toinnte, in possession of one's faculties ; Cha 'n eil e toinnte gu
leòir, "He is half-witted ; he is not all there" ; a meta-
phorical use of toinnte, twined, spun.

troidht, a shoe worn out of shape ; a "bauchle" ; M. MacP.,
p. 199 ; cf. troidht, rags or bandages, &c. (shapeless thing).

troth, time, turn, occasion, attempt, trial ; Bha e an so troth,
"He was here on one occasion" ; troth eile, "another
time" ; feuch troth eile, "try again ; make another
attempt." Used in Knapdale, Arran.

turradh, a surprise ; a coming or attempt to come upon one
unawares ; M. MacP., p. 132.

